1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[6] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821[8] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[9] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

[6] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu.

[8] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 15, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1829, while Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1850's.

[9] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

The clicks

193 [194] c, x, q, had disappeared in central Ngoniland, and were only pronounced correctly by the older Ngoni in the north. The honorific prefixes before clan names in addressing people, and before first names in reference, also varied according to area, age group and clan ranking. Apparent 104 inconsistencies in spelling which occur in the book reflect these variations.

I have adopted English translations of certain Ngoni expressions and have used them throughout without quotation marks. An obvious example is Paramount for *inkosi*; and the use of 'house' for the Ngoni institution, and 'hut' for the dwelling place.

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London, 1955 MARGARET READ

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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561 with the main activities of the groups, though it did to some extent illustrate mutual relationships.

Age-Set terms

	Northern Ngoni	*Central Ngoni*
[184 All children	*abantwana*	*ana*
104] Young men even if married	*amajaha*	*anyamata*
Young girls before puberty	*inkahazana*	*mabuthu*
Young girls past puberty	*izintombi*	*anamwali*
All married women	*abafazi*	*akazi*
Senior men	*amadoda*	*madoda*
Senior women	*amanina*	*manina*

513 561 866 One of the most characteristic forms of Ngoni village organization was the *laweni*, or boys' dormitory. It included the older boys in the group called 'children' and the young men until they married, who were in fact called *amajaha* after they had left the *laweni* and married and had huts of their own. The age for entering the *laweni* was approximately seven years, and was as a rule determined by the age when a child began to get his second teeth. When a child was going about the village with several gaps in his front teeth, his companions jeered at him if he still slept in his grandmother's hut, and his father took the view that it was time he stopped playing like a child and took up seriously the job of herding goats and calves. There was often some hesitation, especially among boys who were not so well grown for their age, at taking the plunge and going to live in the *laweni*, since once made the step could not be retraced. It was primarily an individual decision. It meant leaving the protective affectionate care of the grandmother in the evenings, and the care-free play all day round the mother's hut with meals provided by her, for a different sort of existence altogether. *Laweni* life was rigorous and was dominated by the senior boys living in the hut. The younger ones were at their mercy, and were made to 'fag' for their elders, clean up the hut, sometimes steal food from their mothers' stores, and were beaten if they were slow or careless, or if they threatened to tell the [626] elders in the village what went on in the *laweni*. The main weapon to get boys into the *laweni* was the ridicule of their fellows. Once members of the *laweni* group they were disciplined into obedience by threats and beating. The age range within a *laweni* was often considerable, from seven to seventeen years.

233 857 561 All the boys in a *laweni* who were members of houses possessing cattle—and this as a rule included all sons of Ngoni families of trans-Zambesi clans—had to take part in herding. Cattle-herding was a responsible task and could be an arduous one. The boys got up before dawn, opened the gate of the kraal, and took the cattle to water. They milked the cattle on an open space near the village and carried the milk in wooden jars, gourds or petrol tins to the owner of the cattle, keeping

[P. 205]
[P. 204 is blank]

GLOSSARY OF NGONI TERMS

abantu bobloko, prophets, diviners, dreamers of dreams
alezi (sing. *mlezi*), nursemaids
(m)alumusana (sing. *mulumusana*), heads of leading clans
amadlozi (sing. *idlozi*), ancestral spirits
amajaha, young men
amakanda, head villages
amanxusa, messengers
amasi, milk curds
amilaga, outlying villages
azungu, the English

baba, *bambo*, father
banja (Nyanja), family group
Bayete, greeting given only to Paramount
bwalo (Nyanja), open space by chief hut, court

cibale, relationship of brotherhood
cibwenzi, friendship, specially among age mates
cidlodlo, head-ring which senior men were allowed to wear
cigodlo, section of village behind chief hut
cingoni, that which is Ngoni
ciponde, period of lawlessness after death of Paramount

gogo, grandparent, elderly female attendant; also used for house where ancestral spirits are guarded and village left in care of *gogo* house

hlonipa, respect, honour

imihubo (sing. *muhubo*), songs sung by detachments of army
imitulo, tribute
impi, army
incwala, festival of first-fruits
indaba, meeting, affair
indlukulu, chief hut (in village), big house
ingcwembe, wooden dish for meat
inkosi, Paramount Chief
inkosikazi, big wife (of Paramount)
isihlutu, form of hair-dressing, chignon
izanusi (sing. *isanusi*), diviners
izibongo (sing. *cibongo*), praises, names used in thanking, clan names
izidandani (sing. *isidandani*), girl companions, attendants
izigawa, hamlets
izinduna (sing. *induna*), war leaders, officials
izitokozo, honorific epithets, 'thanking' names
izwe, land, country

kwathu, homeland

laweni, boys' dormitory
lichero, winnowing basket
ligiya, hero's dance
ligubo, war-dance
lobola, marriage payment, cattle transferred at marriage
lunungulu, new village (of chief or Paramount)

mabandla (sing. *libandla*), military companies based on districts
mabuto (sing. *libuto*), age sets, regiments
(a)madoda (sing. *lidoda*), senior men
(a)makosana, members of royal clan
(a)makosikazi, royal women
malume, mother's brother
manina, senior women

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mbumba (Cewa), group of man, his sisters and sisters' children
meando, beast given by bride's people to bridegroom's mother's house
mfumu (Nyanja), chief
micetho, domestic slaves, servants, pages
(u)mlobokazi, woman married with transfer of cattle; bride
mlomo wenkosi, mouthpiece of Paramount
mtimba, marriage ceremony
mtunzi, shadow
mwini, owner

ngoma, Ngoni dance
nhlanzi, substitute or additional wife (usually wife's sister)
nkomo, honorific title
nsengwa (Nyanja), food-basket
nseso, fat of kidneys (of cattle or sheep)
nsima (Nyanja), porridge of maize flour
nyongo, gall bladder (of cattle)

pasangwemi, at the gateway of kraal; men's meeting-place

sing'anga, specialist in medicines

(in)tonga, royal medicines, war medicines

ukuteta, to address the spirits
ukutwasa, reappearance of new moon; rebirth
ulubende, cooked blood
umbongi, official praiser
umsindo, pre-marriage rite for girls
utengwa (Cewa), virilocal marriage without *lobola*

zitambo, head-bands, mourning caps

APPENDIX

HOUSE, HUT, HOUSEHOLD, house is used in this book for the Ngoni system of grouping round the leading women who were wives or mothers of the head of the village. Hut is used for the actual building. Household is used for a group of huts within a compound, (See diagrams in Chapter IV. See also Ngoni of Nyasaland page 122).

PATRILOCAL), refers to residence of young couple after marriage

MATRILOCAL), —sometimes called virilocal and uxorilocal.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TERMS, extension of use of father, mother, brother, sister etc. to wide range of relatives.

PARALLEL COUSINS, children of father's brothers or mother's sisters—regarded as brothers and sisters and called such.

CROSS COUSINS, children of father's sisters or mother's brothers—with whom marriage was possible.

AGE-SETS, the special Ngoni terms are given in 'Ngoni of Nyasaland' page 144.

all children: *abantwana*

young men: *amajaha*

young girls before puberty: *inkakazana*

young girls after puberty: *izintombi*

III

VERNACULAR TERMS

AKULU	the important people
ALEZI	nursemaids
GOGO	grandparent or any very senior person
HLONIPA	respect
INDLUNKULU	chief hut in a village
INDUNA	official in village
IZIDANDANI	girl attendants
LAWENI	boys' dormitory
MWINI	owner—of a hut, cattle, dance group

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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APPENDIX

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NDUKU	knobkerry—club with rounded end.
NGOMA	Ngoni-dance for older boys and girls
NTONGA	a rod or long pole
NYANJA	most common vernacular in Nyasaland
SANGWENI	gate of cattle kraal
ULEMU	respect
UMSINDO	pre-marriage rite for girls

7: Hodgson G-5 (1926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5 Maravi FR4

plain is a moderately temperate, undulating plateau, standing from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above sea-level and broken by ranges of mountains whose peaks tower several thousand feet higher.

The Dowa District is situated in the centre of the Protectorate. Its area of 2,400 square miles is divided topographically into three nearly equal parts, the alluvial lake-shore plain on the east giving way to the escarpment of the hilly plateau in the centre, which again drops steeply on the west to another plain extending to the banks of the Bua River. Each plain is well covered with light timber and long grass, and contains a plentiful supply of all local varieties of game. Tsetse have long infested the lake shore; on the west, migrating from Rhodesia, they crossed the Bua as recently as 1914 and have now spread as far as the hills. The central plateau is cool and healthy. Formerly well timbered, it has since been denuded by the wasteful methods of the native inhabitants. It is free from tsetse and mosquitoes, and cattle thrive in consequence. The larger species of game are absent.

2. *Sociological Introduction.*

The census of 1926, taken at the time when these notes were compiled, shows the population of the District as consisting of 57,184 Achewa,[1] 38,244 Angoni, 93 Anyanja and 4,627 Wayao, together with an odd thousand belonging to other tribes. The Achewa live principally in the west and centre, the Angoni on the central plateau, and the Anyanja and Wayao on the lake shore. The same census gives a total of 247,000 Angoni and 470,000 Anyanja and Achewa out of 1,200,000 natives then settled in the Protectorate.

The two last-named tribes taken together are numerically the largest in Nyasaland, and they have probably lived in their present habitat longer than any others; but the exact duration of their residence can only be a matter for conjecture, since the history of the southern Bantu peoples, during the last four centuries at any rate, consists of one long series of migrations and invasions. From time to time clans and tribes have been united under a strong and powerful leader, and a few decades later disintegration has set in and they have almost vanished. New names have frequently been adopted, and few tribes in south-east Africa now bear the same designation and occupy the same ground as did their ancestors four hundred years ago. Oral tradition is supplemented but scantily by the reports of the early Portuguese explorers, who first ascended the Zambezi River at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their objects were commercial rather than scientific, and they have left little record of the native peoples with whom they came in contact.

It is known, however, that the Achewa and Anyanja are off-shoots or descendants of the A-maravi, who inhabited the country north of the Zambezi at Sena and Tete in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his Report upon the Rivers of Cuama (Zambezi) compiled in 1667 Father Manuel Barreto states that this warlike tribe was governed by its emperor, named Caronga, whose kingdom extended two hundred leagues up the river from the port of

[1] Tribal names in Nyasaland generally take the plural prefix A-, as A-ngoni, A-chewa, sometimes Wa-, as Wa-yao. The singular prefix is M-, as Mangoni, Myao. Further south, Aba-, Aba- and Ama- are more common, *e.g.* Aba-Ngoni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Ndwandwe. For the sake of convenience, when there is no danger of confusion between prefix and stem, I have omitted the hyphen.